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RICHARD RUSH,

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

Reprinted from the Democratic Review, for April, 1840,
No. xxviii.—"Political Portraits with
Pen and Pencil, No. xviii"

NEW YORK:

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Among those who in after times will hold a distinguished place in the list of American Statesmen, when their lives and characters, both public and private, shall be viewed through the impartiality of historic light, most assuredly will be found the subject of the following sketch. If talents of the highest order—an education the most liberal—laborious study—a judgment matured by profound thought—if a long life of devotion to his country in connexion with some of her most important civic services—if political wisdom drawn from the best and purest sources, and a political integrity never questioned—if the most marked evidence by his fellow-countrymen of their just appreciation of his merits—if such grounds can create an undeniable title to a *national name*, it will be awarded to Mr. Rush.

Richard Rush is the second son of the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush of Pennsylvania. To have been brought up by his father, is to be well educated; for his communicative temper and habits made him a preceptor, continually imparting to those around him the patriotism, philanthrophy, morals, learning, manners, industry, and emulation, of which he was an example as well as teacher, who left the world replenished with his principles and pupils. Richard Rush was born in Philadelphia, in August, 1780, and is now therefore fifty-nine years old, enjoying a degree of bodily as well as mental activity and health unusual at that period. After having been at the usual preparatory schools, he was entered in the college at Princeton, at the age of fourteen, at which institution his father, and his maternal grandfather, Richard Stockton of New Jersey, had both been educated, both of whom were Signers of the Declaration of Independence. During his college life he lived in part at the house of his grandmother, Mrs. Stockton, then living in Princeton, known in her day for her literary

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attainments, and who wrote those patriotic stanzas beginning 'Welcome, Mighty Chief, once more!' sung by young ladies of Trenton when strewing flowers before General Washington at the triumphal arch in that town in '89—stanzas that Marshall has made in some measure historic by giving them a place in his account of Washington's memorable journey from Mount Vernon on going on to New York to be installed as President.

At college, though but little addicted to hard study, he was fond of debate and public speaking, for which intellectual exercises he early exhibited the germs of future excellence. He took his degree in the autumn of 1797—being the youngest in a class of thirty-three. Immediately upon his graduation, he commenced the study of the law in the office of William Lewis, Esq., then one of the leaders of the Philadelphia Bar.

The year following the whole country was in a state of martial excitement, under the wrongs and insults of France. The youth of the country poured in their addresses to the President, Mr. Adams, with a tender of their services in case of war; and young Rush, then seventeen years of age, did not hold back from the general feeling, though he was *not* of "MacPherson's Blues." This fervor of the country did not last long, neither invasion nor war having followed, except partial hostilities with France upon the ocean, where, as usual, our flag was triumphant. Towards the latter part of his time with Mr. Lewis, he gave himself up to close study, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1800, when but little over twenty. His habits were at this period formed to laborious self-discipline and culture. During the six or seven years that followed, being still a member of his father's family, and having little practice in his profession, he did not cease his devotion to study, making the night "joint laborer with the day," and, although of a robust and strong constitution, endangering his health by the intensity of his application. The law, history, ancient and modern literature, government, the orators, the poets—these were the fields into which he went, reading the best authors. He formed at this time that intellectual habit so effective in the acquisition and retention of knowledge, and so beneficial to the mind itself, of digesting by reflection all that he read. Every volume received the full power of his attention; important facts or thoughts were recalled, and entered in his own language in common-place books, and a short criticism and opinion passed upon many of them when finished. Nor, among the other studies which engrossed at this period the industrious energies of his mind, was that of politics forgotten, although he took no active

part in them at this period of his life. If his personal and professional associates were the Federalists of Philadelphia, he had deeply imbibed from his father, in early life, the republican principles of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison. The former, in the beautiful letter, published among his works, that he wrote on religion to Dr. Rush in 1803, begins by saying: "In some of my delightful conversations with you in the evenings of 1798—'99 (the black cockade days*), and which served as an antidote to the afflictions of the crisis through which our country was then laboring, the Christain religion was our topic." It was from such fountains the son took in political principles which throughout a life now not short have emphatically governed him.

The first political meeting which he ever attended was one held in the State House Yard in Philadelphia, in 1807, on the occasion of the attack by the British on our frigate Chesapeake. He had up to this time been known only as an ambitious and extremely studious young member of the bar. He made an animated and vigorous speech on the subject of the wrongs we had received from England generally, and on this last outrage in particular, which was received with the warmest applause, and introduced him most favorably to the Republican party. Hitherto known but little as a public speaker, he was now looked upon as destined to eminence in this field. The year following brought him for the first time into professional notice. In 1808, in a speech that occupied the principal part of the day, he defended the Editor of the Aurora, Colonel Duane, who was prosecuted by the Commonwealth for a libel upon Governor McKean. This speech endeared him very much to his democratic fellow-citizens. There was a soundness in its political doctrines, and an eloquent fearlessness in its whole character, that seemed to entrench him at once in their warm affections. As an incident illustrative of the effect produced upon the friends of Colonel Duane by Mr. Rush's powerful appeal for his client, it may be stated, that one of the oldest democrats,

* During the black cockade days, Cobbett, then the great leader of the Federal press in the United States, under the name of 'Peter Porcupine,' put Dr. Rush on his proscriptive list with Mr. Jefferson, avowedly on the ground of his republican principles. The latter he used to call "Tom the Devil;" the former he alternately ridiculed as a quack and denounced as a murderer. Such was the treatment that our most illustrious citizens received at the hands of this British renegado and Federal favorite in the days of Federal supremacy. Dr. Rush, in a beautiful eulogium pronounced on Mr. Rittenhouse, had expatiated on his republican principles; which when Cobbett read, he exclaimed, "*I'll mark him for that,*" and the venom of his press was accordingly poured without measure upon him.

who heard it, embraced him when he concluded, and took him up in his arms, while loud plaudits were heard throughout the court room. After this speech business at the bar poured in upon him rapidly. In this connexion he has often spoken, and always in terms of grateful acknowledgment, of the early professional friendship he received from the present Judge Hopkinson of Philadelphia, in all ways in which it could be cordially afforded to a young tyro at the bar.

At the succeeding Congressional election, that patriarch of the democratic party in those days, and friend of Mr. Jefferson, Thomas Leiper,* together with Col. Duane and Dr. Lieb called on Mr. Rush and asked him to allow his name to be placed among the candidates for Congress; but he declined, being at that epoch intent upon his profession. But he continued to receive ever afterwards manifestations of marked attachment and confidence from these and other champions of the democratic cause. Colonel Duane was unbounded in his thankfulness for his defence of him, and sent him a large fee—which was declined, Mr. Rush considering him as a persecuted man. Public bodies in Philadelphia, composed of democrats, now spontaneously made him their counsel and solicitor, as the Board of Health, the Guardians of the Poor, and other democratic functionaries, of the Northern Liberties.

In January, 1811, Governor Snyder appointed him Attorney General of Pennsylvania. His practice was now increasing daily. In the spring of this year a misunderstanding between Mr. Brown and himself (Peter A. Brown, Esq., of the Philadelphia Bar) led to a duel. Neither party received any injury, and it is to the credit of both, that the event did not interrupt the courtesy of their subsequent intercourse. As Attorney General, he was necessarily brought into much intercourse and correspondence with Governor Snyder and his associates in the State administration, then consisting of the powerful democrats of the State of that era, viz.: Mr Findlay, afterwards Governor of the State, now Treasurer of the Mint; General Porter, father of the present Governor; Mr. Boileau, Mr. Bryant, and Mr. Cochrane—the esteem and confidence of all whom, as well as of the members of the Legislature whom he used to see in his visits on business to the seat of the State government, he gained in a high degree.

At this point of time, and a little earlier, national politics had grown

* Mr. Jefferson was heard to say, that the tables of Dr. Rush, Major Butler, of South Carolina, and Mr. Leiper, were the only ones in Philadelphia to which he was ever invited during those days of Federal persecution; and that the Federalists used to cross the streets to avoid him.

to be of intense interest. The state of our relations with both England and France, the multiplied wrongs we had received from both, and the peculiar aggravation and malignity of those from England, as they included impressment and the killing of our citizens with her cannon off our shores, rendered a war with one or the other country almost inevitable. Home questions of a highly exciting nature also existed, and were of daily discussion in the press; among others, that of renewing the charter of the old Bank of the United States. The files of the Aurora, of which Col. Duane was still Editor, contain Mr. Rush's contributions on this subject against the renewal of the charter, on Mr. Madison's original ground of its unconstitutionality. His father, though never in active politics, nor at all a party man, after the Revolutionary struggle ended, was nevertheless always opposed in his opinions to the banking and paper systems, and corresponded with Mr. Madison on the funding system; in the strong condemnation of which he joined. The son had been deeply indoctrinated in the same opinions. Hence his opposition to the recharter of the late Bank of the United States is in unison with his early convictions; as has been the case with thousands, owing to the usurpations of the late bank; for these usurpations all honorable and correct merchants, like the Presidents of the first Bank of the United States, old Thomas Willing of Philadelphia, and David Lenox, though of the Federal party, would have joined in condemning, as having sprung from a reckless school of foul and unwarrantable speculation, not from any of their maxims of banking. Thomas Willing would have gone to the rack before he would have issued as currency the notes of a defunct bank, and have brought downupon himself a penal statute from Congress.

In November, 1811, on the appointment of the late Judge Duval to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Madison, then President, immediately nominated Mr. Rush to the office of Comptroller of the Treasury, which Judge Duval had vacated. This appointment was entirely unexpected by him, as it had been unsought; but it seems to have been peculiarly acceptable to the democratic party of his State, whose favor and confidence he universally enjoyed, to an extent never surpassed perhaps by any one at his age. He declined accepting this appointment at first, but wrote to the Secretary of State, on receiving the commission, asking time to deliberate. He did not accept it until he had ascertained from that source, that its duties would raise no official impediment to the occasional exercise of his profession in the Supreme Court at Washington, should he in-

cline to do so. The ensuing January he removed with his family, having married a southern lady, to Washington.

The friendship between his father and Mr. Madison was a good passport to the kind dispositions of the latter towards him on his first arrival in Washington; and it was his good fortune to gain the esteem and friendship of that great and good man, and to have been honored with his confidence ever afterwards.

The war having been declared against England in June, 1812, Mr. Rush was selected to deliver a public oration in Washington on the 4th of July immediately following. The occasion was a marked one, and the auditory not less so, consisting of the President, Heads of Department, nearly all the members of both Houses of Congress, besides citizens and strangers—the foreign ministers among the latter. It was delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, and made a large addition to his rising reputation. It has been preserved among the repositories of American eloquence; and no more need here be said of it than barely to remark, that in portraying the causes of the war, in order to prove that it was both just and necessary, the views which he gave of the question of impressment showed a perfect knowledge of that whole subject, and have left on record an exposition of it, whether as to argument or rhetoric, force or fire, not easy to have been surpassed on such an occasion; parts of which have passed into the national classicality of our school-books as models of patriotic eloquence. As the contest proceeded, few persons in the country did more towards causing its true nature to be rightly understood. His mind and pen were always active and ardent in explaining and upholding the cause of his country; in exhortation and encouragement under the incessant attacks of the Federalists upon the Administration; the effects of whose opposition undoubtedly were to strengthen the hands of the public enemy. The columns of the National Intelligencer, then the great Democratic paper of the Government and nation, and the Democratic press of Philadelphia, were the influential channels through which his patriotic productions chiefly reached the public; the latter paper, conducted by his zealous friend Colonel Binns, having first given circulation to his communications under the signature of "John Dickinson"—the same signature that he adopted while explaining at a later day, in the Globe, the policy of General Jackson in regard to the French treaty of indemnity. In the session of 1813 his early friend Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, then in the House of Representatives, was his guest in Washington; and their efforts were united, as they have been since, in the cause of their

country, the former being at that time her zealous and eloquent champion in Congress. In the summer of 1814, when the war was assuming its greatest fury, and Federal Opposition proportionably augmenting its own, Mr. Rush addressed a letter to the Mayor of Philadelphia, apprising him of Admiral Cochrane's hostile intentions along our shores, before his incendiary proclamations were made public; for which letter he received torrents of Federal abuse. A few weeks afterwards Washington was sacked, its edifices, dedicated to the peaceful arts, and to legislation, burnt, Baltimore approached, and Philadelphia threatened.

In February, 1814, the posts of Secretary of the Treasury and Attorney General being vacant, the former by the resignation of Mr. Pinckney, the latter by Mr. Gallatin having overstaid the time it was kept open for him while engaged in negotiations for peace abroad, Mr. Madison placed either post at Mr. Rush's disposal, leaving the decision with himself. He was then thirty-three years of age. He went into the latter, and thus, as a member of the Cabinet, became associated with the President in his official, as he had already possessed his personal, confidence. His habits of investigation and study, especially in the field of public law, had laid the best foundation for a knowledge of the high duties of this important station. For their discharge he was accordingly always found ready; and by residing in Washington, and ceasing to practice in other courts, he was always at hand. One of his early acts was a letter to the District Attorney of Massachusetts on the subject of our citizens holding intercourse with the enemy by going on board of their ships within our waters or off the coasts; in the course of which, with the lights of a mind imbued with the principles applicable to the belligerent and neutral state of nations, and cognizant of the political obligations of the citizen, he discriminated the cases of lawful and unlawful intercourse with the enemy. This letter was published in the National Intelligencer and elsewhere, and had its effect in helping to disseminate correct views on a subject so important; and the general soundness of the opinions he gave to the different departments of the Government, in all the variety and complication of its service in a state of war, and the changing face of things on a return to peace, has never been called in question. It may be added, that with the exception of one of the terms of the Supreme Court, when he was prostrated by a dangerous illness, during which he was consoled by a daily visit at his bed-side from Mr. Madison for nearly four weeks, he was never found wanting in the prompt and efficient performance

of his duty before that high and imposing tribunal, being always ready to proceed with the causes of the United States as they were called on for argument. While a member of the Cabinet, he kept a minute, as long the war lasted, of what passed at every Cabinet meeting, and did the same of events from the first breaking out of the war; noting down from time to time his conversations with Mr. Madison when carrying with them a public interest. Nor must the fact be omitted, that as a cabinet councillor, though youngest in the body, he was the strenuous and unshaken advocate for the most vigorous war measures against the enemy, which the Federalists, at every stage of the war, were endeavoring to paralyze and check; not only by their rancorous opposition to Mr. Madison, whom at last they were for sending to Elba with Bonaparte, but by constantly holding out delusive expectations of peace—declaring always that the British desired it, but that our Administration did not. In proportion to the zeal with which Mr. Rush was known to oppose these and similar unpatriotic and false allegations, did he draw down Federal hostility, and become an object of its unsparing attacks.

While Attorney General, an Act of Congress devolved upon him, in conjunction with the Secretary of State, then Mr. Monroe, the duty of prescribing the plan and manner in which a new edition of the laws of the United States should be published. As the first law officer of the Government, the execution of this duty was chiefly assumed by Mr. Rush. He submitted his plan, which was a comprehensive one, to the Secretary of State, by whom it was approved in all its parts. It directed for the first time the republication at large of all repealed or expired laws and treaties, in order that the progress and history of our whole system of federal legislation, as well as of our international relations, might be traced by easy reference to every law or treaty that had ever had existence in our code. It directed the examination of the journals of the old Congress during the Confederation, with a view to the republication in full of all such acts or ordinances as affected the territorial domain of the States or Union; or as might serve to connect, by a short chronological series, the early official acts of the Revolutionary Government, or those of the Confederation between '83 and '89, with the formation of the present Constitution of the United States. The whole work was superintended by Mr. Rush with the greatest care, and forms the edition of 1815 in five volumes. The first volume, which comprises the documents last described, contains a body of ancient and fundamental law belonging to our Federal and State systems of government, than which no other of the same com-

pass is more valuable at the present day to the student of our political history and to the jurist; and none is more authentic, since every document was invariably collated with the original roll deposited in the Department of State, where the original roll existed. His plan is published at the commencement of the edition, and may be consulted with advantage by any one desirous of embodying in the best forms the statutory code of any of our States, as it has formed the model for that of the Union.

On Mr. Monroe's installation in the Presidency, in March, 1817, he appointed Mr. Adams Secretary of State, recalling him from the London mission where he then was. Until he could arrive in the United States, Mr. Rush was commissioned by the President to act as Secretary of State. This appointment being temporary, only a partial share of its duties devolved upon him. He corresponded with the Spanish Minister, Mr. Onis, on our relations with Spain; held interviews with the Abbé Correa, Minister from Portugal—but still better known as the venerable sage and philosopher of Portugal, and friend of Mr. Jefferson—on our relations with that country produced by the revolution in Pernambuco; and concluded an arrangement with the British Minister, Mr. Bagot, by which it was stipulated that Great Britain and the United States should reciprocally dismantle their naval forces upon the northern lakes, limiting it to one vessel on each of the lakes, of not more than one hundred tons burden, and armed with only one eighteen pound cannon. This was the principal diplomatic business which added itself to the ordinary routine of the home business of the Department during the season he was connected with it. But he has often spoken of it as one that afforded him a rich treat by the opportunities it opened to him of reading, in the original, the correspondence of our early and illustrious diplomatic men—Franklin, the elder Adams, Jefferson, Jay, and others of Revolutionary fame. The volumes containing it were sent to his house after office hours, and he was enabled to revel in these pages of political wisdom, sagacity, and knowledge, from men whose names may be said to mark an era in diplomatic history, and the treasures of whose minds are generally conveyed in a style of such classic purity. Mr. Adams arrived in the United States towards the latter end of the summer, and soon afterwards entered upon the duties of the Department, of which Mr. Rush had been the incumbent for six months.

The contest for Governor between Mr. Findlay and Mr. Heister coming on at about this time in Pennsylvania, Mr. Rush's devotion to the interests and prosperity of his State would not allow him to be a

mere spectator of it although residing in Washington. He took an active part in the election with his pen, exerting his utmost zeal in favor of the Democratic candidate, Mr. Findlay, who was taken up as the successor of Governor Snyder—that pure patriot and wise Chief Magistrate, so long the favorite and boast of Pennsylvania. One of his pieces that appeared in the Democratic press was republished in Philadelphia in the pamphlet form, and circulated throughout the State with acknowledged advantage. He had the satisfaction to witness the success of his friend and candidate, Mr. Findlay, in opposition to his Federal competitor.

On the 31st of October, 1817, the President appointed Mr. Rush Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain. It may be supposed that his previous pursuits and training had qualified him for this new station, which came to him as unsolicited as it was naturally gratifying at his time of life. It opened at that era of our affairs a wide and dignified sphere of public duty. The war with Great Britain over, it became an important object with our Government to settle a great number of questions remaining unadjusted with that nation, the discussion of which in time of peace might give better hope of useful results than had ever been accomplished anterior to the war, when practical wrongs were constantly producing an irritated state of feeling between the two countries. To Mr. Rush were to be confided the high duties and negotiations to be entered upon in these hopes. Mr. Adams, with his happy command of resources for compliment, as of resources for everything, perceiving that while temporarily in the Department of State he had been aiming to make himself acquainted with our foreign affairs, jocosely remarked, before he took his departure for England, that he should have to treat him as Henry IV. did Sully when he sent him as ambassador to England—"make him write his own instructions." With the ample and able ones of Mr. Adams, Mr. Rush embarked with his family from Annapolis for London in November, 1817, in the Franklin seventy-four, Commodore Stewart.

The incumbent of the London mission is at all times loaded with a crowded variety of business, direct and incidental; and it would be in vain, in a limited sketch like this, to attempt an enumeration of a tithe of all that fell into Mr. Rush's hands while on this mission, during the prolonged term of more than seven years. His official correspondence, which may be seen in some six or eight folios in the Department of State, attests that he was no idler. He wrote also largely to the President in the shape of private and informal letters,

from the first year of his residence to the last, besides maintaining, under Mr. Adams's instructions, a regular correspondence with all our foreign ministers and diplomatic agents in Europe and on this continent; in order that in that great centre of political and commercial affairs where he was stationed, he might be constantly receiving and imparting information to bear usefully on the knowledge of our own foreign interests in all their broadest relations. The first regular negotiation upon which he entered with the British government was in August, 1818, in conjunction with Mr. Gallatin. The subjects brought into it were manifold—1. The slave question under the treaty of Ghent. 2. The Fisheries. 3. The North Western Boundary line, and Columbia River questions. 4. The renewal of the commercial convention of 1815. 5. The intercourse between the United States and British West India Islands, and that between the United States and their North American colonies, inland and by sea. 6. Impressment. 7. The law of blockade. 8. The colonial trade in time of war. 9. The law of contraband, and various minor questions. After ample discussions, which continued until the 20th of October, the plenipotentiaries of the two nations agreed upon and signed on that day a treaty or convention, by which the following points, from among the above contested ones, were arranged :—1. The Fisheries, securing to us the right to fish off certain coasts and islands of the British possessions north of us, and within their bays and harbors; whereby an imminent prospect of collision between the two countries was prevented, the British contending that we had lost all our fishing rights under the old treaty of 1783 by the war of 1812; which we denied. 2. The boundary line from the Lake of the Woods. 3. An article effecting a temporary arrangement of claims beyond the Rocky Mountains and to the Columbia River. 4. A prolongation for ten years of the commercial convention then in existence between the two countries. And 5. an article that laid the foundation, through an umpirage by the Emperor of Russia, of indemnification to our southern citizens whose slaves had been carried off by the British ships at the close of the last war, in violation of the treaty of Ghent. Besides the joint official despatch from Mr. Gallatin and himself, containing the report of this negotiation, with all the arguments, as published among our State Papers, Mr. Rush transmitted to Mr. Monroe a full account of it in a separate communication taken from his own private journal kept of every day's proceeding.

He did not, while in England, confine his attention or his communications to business strictly official, but extended both over a wider

surface, in the hope of making his public residence there useful to his country in other things. On the state of European politics generally he wrote whenever deriving information from sources other than those opened by the press to all; and it was his habit once a year to present to the Secretary of State—from personal observation and inquiries, parliamentary documents examined and digested, and all other sources of information accessible—general views of the internal state of the British Empire, as regarded commerce, manufactures, her institutions of public force and finance, and other statistical matter. To the great naval establishments of England he gave, at all intervals, an especial attention; visiting several times, from an ardent attachment to the interests and glory of our own navy, and a personal fondness for such inquiries, the great naval arsenals of England, and transmitting, as voluntary communications to the Navy Department, or board of Navy Commissioners, or to some one of our naval constructors, whatever struck him during these visits that appeared to be worthy of note. He did the same—and particularly in letters to Commodore Rodgers as President of the Navy Board, and to Commodore Decatur as his personal correspondent—whenever obtaining, through his intercourse with those who directed the naval administration of England, information that he thought might be of use; carefully mentioning new plans that were executing or projected, and new inventions for carrying forward naval science.

The execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, for joining the Seminole Indians who were at war with us, raised at first a prodigious flame in England. The fact of the commanding general of an American army hanging two British subjects contrary to the sentence of a court martial, was at first blush startling to the English. They could not understand it, and seemed horror-struck. This event devolved upon Mr. Rush an important and delicate duty. The stocks fell under the first shock of the news, from an apprehension that war would follow. Our Minister was anxiously looked to by the British government for the necessary explanations. Note upon note came to him from Lord Castlereagh bearing the endorsement, "Immediate." His interviews with him were frequent and prolonged, and with what discretion, united to firmness, he carried himself on that whole occasion, his official despatches to our Government will attest. He had to defend General Jackson against the whole array of the British Cabinet, with Lord Castlereagh, Lord Liverpool, and Mr. Canning in the van, one and all of them prejudiced against him in the beginning, in common with the British public at large and both Houses of Par-

liament, to an extent not easy to be conceived—to such an extent indeed that Lord Castlereagh declared, that "*war might have been produced by holding up a finger.*" Wretch, tyrant, ruffian, murderer, savage of hell, were among the epithets that the newspapers of London lavished upon him. Mr. Rush has often recurred to this period, in conversation with his friends, as one of extraordinary interest, and to himself as the most anxious of his mission; mentioning among other anecdotes, that a deformed and hideous picture of the General was paraded in the streets, the men who held it up on a pole bellowing forth, in vociferous repetition, "JACKSON THE MURDERER!" But the defence of our hero, while an anxious task, was triumphantly accomplished on all the points on which he had been assailed, by thy patriotic zeal, knowledge and conciliatory course of Mr. Rush, aided by the powerful and just exposition which Mr. Adams had given of the case in his celebrated letter to Mr. Erving, our Minister in Spain, a copy of which was sent to him. Mr. Rush distinctly justified our heroic and traduced chief on the ground of *humanity* as well as all the grounds of public law; and showed the imperious necessity of making an example of these two men, who, worse a great deal than the savages themselves, stirred up the latter to the butchery of our citizens along the frontier, and to the slaughter of whole families, women and children included, in methods of atrocity to make humanity shudder.

Mr. Tompkins was at this time Vice-President of the United States, but was taken up in 1820 as candidate for Governor in New York, and ran against Mr. Clinton. Had he been chosen, a vacancy would have existed in the Vice-Presidency, and the country was beginning to bend its thoughts towards a successor to Mr. Tompkins in the event of this contingency. A Democratic Convention that assembled that year at Lewistown in Pennsylvania, from all parts of the State, for the re-nomination of Governor Findlay, that able head of the party at that time and sterling champion of their principles and cause at all times, also nominated Mr. Rush, although in England, for the Vice-Presidency, in case the contingency in question should occur—the most signal mark of confidence that could then have been reposed in him by the Democracy of Pennsylvania. To so impressive and endearing an evidence of confidence and affection from his native State he was deeply sensible, and clung to it as a proud trophy in a foreign land. To be remembered at all when absent is gratifying—to be so remembered doubly gratifying, as it holds up to the world of strangers

an authentic proof of qualities and merits being appreciated where they have been longest and best known.

A remarkable incident in Mr. Rush's mission to England was the overture of Mr. Canning to him in the summer and autumn of 1823 on the subject of the Spanish American states. It had been a regular part of his duty to watch over the interests of these rising states, a duty which he never failed zealously to perform, above all in striving to conciliate, in all just ways and upon all proper occasions, the good will of the Court and Cabinet of England in their behalf; towards which end he had repeated interviews with Lord Castlereagh in all the earlier parts of his mission, and there are authentic testimonials of the good service he rendered to the great cause of human liberty in South America in these ways during his mission. At his domicil the informal representatives and agents of the new states who flocked to London throughout a period of five years, found a hospitable reception, social countenance, and the warmest political sympathy; to which the Garcia del Rios, the Paroissiens, the Ravengas, and other distinguished names of the new states, could bear testimony. But in the autumn of 1823, their cause, prosperous as it had been up to that time, began to look gloomy. France, under the old Bourbons, had made war upon the constitutional system of Spain; the Duke D'Angoulême had crossed the Bidassoa, with a French army of eighty thousand men, and announced in his proclamations, almost in direct words, an intention, in which the Holy Alliance were to join, of stretching their united arms across the ocean to reinslave Spanish America as soon as they should have cloven down liberty in old Spain. The French troops were rapidly making their way through Spain, and Cadiz, the last strong-hold of the constitutional party, was soon expected to fall. England got alarmed. Mr. Canning was then Foreign Secretary. He approached Mr. Rush, as the plenipotentiary of the United States, to sound him on the policy of the two nations interposing, by some formal convention or other joint act, their influence and determination to check the execution of the dangerous schemes of this unholy confederacy of Emperors and Kings. Notes passed and conferences were held of a highly confidential nature between the two functionaries, which have never been published by either Government. It is generally understood that Mr. Rush declined pledging his Government to anything, unless England would place herself in equal condition with the United States, by acknowledging, as the latter had then done, the independence of the new states, as-

signing his reasons why she should take this step. In that event Mr. Rush declared his readiness to throw himself in the breach, and assume the responsibility of taking the joint measure proposed by England, though without instructions from his Government, for which there was no time to wait. England declined to take at that time the step which Mr. Rush required. The latter kept our Government fully informed of what was going on by the earliest possible opportunities, and had the satisfaction to receive its approbation of his whole course under an emergency so critical. This was the more acceptable to him as he was thrown entirely upon his own judgment from the beginning to the end of the emergency. Mr. Monroe was heard to say, that if the Cabinet had been at his elbow, step by step, he could not have acted more to his satisfaction. His communications were the key to those memorable declarations in Mr. Monroe's Message of the second of December, 1823, received with such enthusiasm by the whole country, that the United States could not behold such an interposition by the Holy Alliance "in any form with indifference;" and that "*the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they had assumed and maintained, were henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.*"

In Stapleton's Life of Canning this important subject is touched, the author remarking, that—"Towards the latter end of August, 1823, Mr. Canning sounded Mr. Rush, the then Minister of the United States in this country, as to whether in his opinion the moment were not arrived when the two Governments of Great Britain and the United States might not come to some understanding with each other on the subject of the Spanish American Colonies; and whether it would not be expedient for themselves, and beneficial for the world, that the principles of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed." The work adds: "As that gentleman's answer is written in the same spirit of confidence, it will not be right, and fortunately it is not now material, to state the nature of that answer, farther than to say that in every respect it was highly creditable to its distinguished author."

Mr. Rush desired to return home to his country in 1823, and wrote to Mr. Monroe to that effect. This was prevented by a very extensive negotiation being put into his hands by the Government in that year, which did not close until August, 1824. Its important and onerous duties had the effect of prolonging his stay until the year following. The negotiation was one of unusual compass, and embraced questions of novelty as well as great magnitude. The right of the United States, on grounds of natural as well as public law, to the navigation of the

River St. Lawrence in its whole length and breadth, to and from the sea, was on this occasion for the first time brought into discussion with Great Britain. Their right to the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and their rights along the North West coast of America, were also asserted and discussed in a manner far more full and explicit than in his former negotiation jointly with Mr. Gallatin. The West India Trade question, under various new lights since the former negotiation, was most copiously treated; the North Eastern Boundary question, now grown to be so formidable, was handled under some of its earlier aspects before being submitted to the King of Holland; several maritime questions of great moment, and various other points and topics of high international concern, which it does not fall within the purpose of such a sketch as this even to enumerate. Foreseeing the great labor, and still more the responsibility, of so complicated a negotiation, he was desirous of a colleague; more especially as two plenipotentiaries, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Stratford Canning, were appointed on the side of Great Britain, with the opportunity of constant access to the British Cabinet during its progress. A special Secretary was also appointed by England to keep the records of that negotiation,—in so important a light was it regarded. That the Government did not grant Mr. Rush a colleague must be taken as a proof of its confidence in his unassisted ability and prudence. Mr. Adams's instructions were full and able, as they always were to our foreign Ministers; but in the course of a negotiation of such magnitude and scope, it must needs have happened, and did, that he would be often left to the resources of his own mind to solve difficulties not anticipated, and meet discussions started by the occasion. His full report of the whole negotiation at its close, though writing to the Government from time to time during its pendency, is contained in an official despatch to the Secretary of State dated the 12th of August, 1824, comprising sixty closely printed pages, as published by the Senate in January, 1825; which is not mentioned as a merit, but only as a proof of the compass of its matter, its merit rather consisting in its condensation. Although no treaty was effected by this negotiation—(except one for a restricted concert of naval operations between the two powers against the slave trade, which the Senate did not ratify)—much was done towards ascertaining the policy and views of Great Britain, on many points of great importance, a little of which may be here mentioned. She refused to entertain proposals from the United States for abolishing privateering, and all war against private property upon the ocean—a great consummation to humanity if it could be effected,

and which the example of England and the United States probably would have effected with all nations. But England turned away from it instantly, under the proposals Mr. Rush made—in a manner scarcely to have been expected, considering her overflowing zeal to get rid of the slave trade. We are unavoidably driven to account for her determination to continue practices so intrinsically barbarous, and the principle of which has long been given up, among civilized nations in war upon land, by recollecting her own large means of privateering, and capturing private property in war upon the ocean. She refused to depart from the ground she had taken on impressment in the negotiation of 1818—that is, she would not surrender her alleged *right* to enter our vessels on the high seas to search for her men, unless we would give her previous guarantees that none were on board, of a nature that we had told her, in the negotiation of 1818, it was not practicable to give. She scouted our claim to the navigation of the St. Lawrence. She would hardly listen to it with patience, as the protocols of the negotiation attest. *She denied Mr. Monroe's principle in regard to colonization on the American continents*, declaring her own right to colonize on all parts of it unoccupied, as fully as when she made her Nootkah Sound convention with Spain in 1790. She claimed the right of navigating, equally with ourselves, the Columbia River; and Mr. Rush is known to hold the opinion that we shall probably not find it an easy task to obtain the recognition of our rights from her west of the Rocky Mountains, or on the coast of the Pacific. All these and other subjects of international concern between Great Britain and this country are gone into with great care and research in the despatch from him mentioned, to which the critical posture of our affairs with England at the present moment cannot fail to give deep interest. He holds the opinion indeed, that she will proudly and sternly cleave to her entire colonial dominion on this continent, and be little likely to yield up any part of it without an earnest struggle.

When Mr. Adams was chosen President by the House of Representatives after the fierce contest among the four rival candidates in 1824, he appointed Mr. Rush Secretary of the Treasury, and called him home to take charge of that Department. Having been so many years out of the country, he had not participated in the angry strife which that memorable election engendered; but had taken post upon the old democratic principle of the *caucus*, under which Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison had been elected; and was in favor of Mr. Crawford, the caucus candidate. This being known through his private

correspondence, those of his Democratic fellow-citizens in Pennsylvania who went for the same candidate placed his name at the head of the Crawford electoral ticket, his return home being then expected in time to vote, should that ticket succeed. He left London in June, 1825, leaving behind him in England a high character, which a long residence and large social intercourse had earned, both for solid qualities and gentlemanly courtesy; and arrived in the United States in July. He found surrounding Mr. Adams, in the new Cabinet, Mr. Clay, Mr. Barbour, Mr. Southard, Mr. Wirt—all of them men whose public lives, like his own, had been identified up to that epoch with the Democratic Party. Separated for some years from our home affairs, and having given no special attention while abroad to our Treasury concerns, it was his wish, on returning, if the President had thought the change proper, that Mr. Southard should be in that Department, and he be assigned to the Navy Department; investigations in the latter sphere having engaged large portions of his time and attention in the great naval kingdom where he had been residing. The President deciding against a change, he entered with great industry upon the duties of the Treasury, devoting himself to them exclusively, and with an application the most resolute.

His reports to Congress while in that Department are now, like his negotiations abroad, part of our history, and in that light will be judged. He was a strenuous advocate for American manufactures, as were nearly all the middle, northern, and western portions of the Union at that time; though our intervening history and present condition have unavoidably changed the nature of that question, as was admitted in a letter published by Mr. Rush himself last fall. He neither advocated prohibition, nor permanent protection, as means of encouraging our manufactures—limiting his recommendations to such aid only by law as would be required to give them a start against the pre-existing skill and superior capital of older nations. He inculcated uniformly and as strongly the policy of fostering the other great branches of national industry in all ways just and practicable. A reduction of duties on teas and wines, still high when he came into the Department, were favorite measures with him; and his full report to the House of Representatives on the growth and manufacture of silk, prepared and transmitted in 1828, in compliance with a previous call, may be considered as having given the first impulse to that valuable pursuit among us, destined as is believed by many, to become at no distant day so great and productive a source of home industry throughout the United States, south, middle, east, and north. His ample report to the

House of of Representatives in 1826, on an enlargement of the warehousing and drawback systems, is a direct appeal to Congress for encouraging, by legislative assistance in these ways, our commerce with all parts of the world upon the broadest and most liberal scale. He was for outstripping England in these as the liberal points in her commercial system, instead of keeping behind her; dwelling upon them also as the points that had mainly conduced to the commercial grandeur of Holland, and as especially proper for the United States to make the most of, at an era when the emancipation of all Spanish America opened such boundless fields to a new carrying trade, which it was their true policy to seize upon. Thus, the partisan of no one branch of industry in particular, his reports show an enlightened estimate of the various interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, all in combination, as the true road to national wealth and power; and—whatever the degrees in which different readers may coincide with or dissent from them—they evince a range of thought and familiarity with the commercial policy of other nations now and heretofore, especially England, that fully qualified him to counsel with the representatives of the nation on the best means of promoting the nation's interests in connexion with these large views which his sense of his duty prompted him to suggest and develope from the Department he filled.

Mr. Rush was was very much the slave of his office while in the Treasury Department, never having been absent a day from its duties during the three years and a half that he held it, except on one occasion when he was confined to his house by a week's illness. Towards the close of Mr. Adams's Presidential term, his name was placed on the ticket with that of Mr. Adams, as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and he received at the election that followed the same number of votes that Mr. Adams received for the Presidency—General Jackson being then chosen President, and Mr. Calhoun Vice-President.

He ceased to be Secretary of the Treasury in March, 1829, when General Jackson's administration commenced, and a couple of months afterwards went to England at the united request of the City of Washington and towns of Georgetown and Alexandria, to negotiate for them a loan of a million and a half of dollars, which Congress had authorized them to make at *six per cent.*, for the purpose of meeting their subscriptions to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The credit of these places being supposed to be but little known in Europe, no sanguine expectations of his success appear to have been entertained. There were merchants in Baltimore who alleged that he would not obtain it under *twenty per cent.*, and bankers in Philadelphia who predicted that it

could not be got at all. His first attempts to get it in England were not successful. In July he crossed over to Holland, where he was also thwarted at first, and returned again to England, where he encountered adverse influences a second time; and did not, as hinted in his communications, consider himself as having been treated with any extreme measure of liberality by the Barings. Staying in London throughout the autumn, and waiting events, a correspondence was opened between himself and the house of the Cromelines of Amsterdam —that ancient house of scrupulous honor, and endeared to the United States by having been first to trust them in their glorious but perilous Revolutionary struggle. This correspondence was actively yet silently carried on for some months, and ended in Mr. Rush's obtaining the whole loan at *five and a half per cent.*, with which he returned home in January, 1830. He made a full report of his proceedings to his three constituents, and the City of Washington published it. The municipal government of the City, and that of each of the towns, passed resolutions approving of his course in the whole matter, and thanking him for his judicious and successful exertions. This trip to Europe renovated his health, which has since been uninterrupted.

Soon after his return he removed with his family to York, in Pennsylvania, his native State. To this change he was mainly impelled from the more favorable opportunities it would afford of superintending the studies of his children, than a large or commercial city, and from the attractive localities about that ancient town, once the seat of our Revolutionary Congress. The Antimasonic question was then raging in Pennsylvania, and a new one to him. At leisure to examine it, he did so. Taught by his principles to regard combinations and monopolies of all kinds as adverse to the interests and rights of the many in favor of the few, he became convinced of the abuses to which Masonry might be put in the hands of ill disposed and weak minded men, and expressed his convictions fervidly in several public letters, that circulated widely in those portions of the country where the Antimasonic principle prevailed. These letters so recommended him to the Antimasons, that the leading members of that party in Lancaster County, the head quarters of its strength in Pennsylvania, formally solicited him in a public letter to let his name be held up among those from whom they intended to select their candidate for the Presidency at their convention which was to meet in Baltimore in the autumn of 1831. This he declined, having expressed his opinions and written his letters with no selfish views. The convention, not having Mr. Rush's name before it, nominated Mr. Wirt. It was

scarcely doubted by any one, that Mr. Rush would have received the nomination had he consented.

In 1833 he removed to the county of Philadelphia, where he now lives, at a maternal home. In September of this year came out General Jackson's famous cabinet paper setting forth the causes that made it his duty to remove the public deposites from the custody of that perfidious institution, the Bank of the United States. Opposed to the recharter of the old Bank, Mr. Rush had, nevertheless, as a member of Mr. Madison's cabinet in 1816, gone with that illustrious statesman, with Alexander James Dallas, that renowned and accomplished champion of the democratic cause in those days, and a host of others of the same faith, in concurring in a new Bank of the United States, supposed to have become necessary, in the disordered state of the finances which the factious efforts of Federalism to pull down everything during the war had produced; and with thousands of Democrats, including all Democratic Pennslyvania, had sustained the new bank while it acted honestly. But in General Jackson's exposure of its misdeeds all such beheld the necessity of its downfall. Mr. Rush in particular could not fail to see, in the democratic principles he would have applied to Antimasonry, a tenfold stronger ground of alarm at the conduct of the Bank; for here was an institution whose sway was over the whole Union, using its unlimited millions in corrupting the press and controlling the laws; and these had been the allegations against the associated power of Masonry—whether rightfully or not, we are not now arguing. The difference was so great, that any parallel would be absurd; for while it was said by Antimasons that the ties of the lodge influenced the administration of law through the jury box, it was evident that the corporate power of the Bank, wielding its tremendous money power, struck at the entire root of legislation itself. It was able, as the end has shown, to set at defiance the very Constitution of the United States, the latter providing that only gold and silver shall be money; while this bank, by its career of law-breaking, fraud, and despotism, has at length fairly got the better of this Constitutional provision, and we have seen through its means irredeemable rags legalized as money by the legislators of several of the States. Hence it has undermined and uprooted the very attributes and powers of popular sovereignty.

The timely and fearless stand he took in justifying the removal of the deposites, as a step of imperious necessity and of the highest wisdom, was in unison with the democratic principles identified with his education and his public life. It endeared him to the democratic

party of the nation, who had been no stranger to his early name and long exertions in that field. He came to the rescue at a critical epoch, when the timid and calculating held back, when some of the stoutest hearts quailed under the terrifying proscriptions of the Bank of the United States. The letters that he continued to write from time to time, under calls made upon him, sometimes from States distant from his own, through his well known national name, powerfully laid open the enormities of that unprincipled institution. It may perhaps be affirmed that few, if any, of our public men among his contemporaries, have been more before the public than Mr. Rush, as a political writer. The posts he has held in the service of the Republic have made him a writer, while all his intellectual aptitudes and personal qualities seem calculated to have given him rank among its public speakers. With a mind of rich mould—an admirable knowledge of men—with information gathered from a wide scope of lonely study and extended practical observation—with a ready command of language, advantages of voice, ardor of temperament, controlled by judgment, purity and boldness of heart—had his career thus far been in our national legislature, rather than in executive and diplomatic duties, he would have found before him a wide field for useful and distinguished service. But these aptitudes and qualities have come to his aid in political discussion with his pen. His political essays are in a style popular, interrogatively argumentative, dignified, and bold. Restrained and mild in all his personal relations, he applies the lash of argument, in the cause of offended truth, with strong and skilful power of attack, and with entire fearlessness.

His strongest political essay, as a single production, is perhaps the letter written by him in the fall past, to some of the citizens of Berks County in his own State, and largely republished out of Pennsylvania. The letter addressed to him asked his views upon the "questions of financial policy connected with the Independent Treasury and the present suspension of specie payments," and was from thirteen of the truest and oldest names of that old democratic county. Mr. Rush's reply has embodied and explained in a condensed and masterly way the flagitious course of the Bank of the United States throughout America and in Europe, as mainly causing the suspension; takes strong views of the necessity and advantages of the Independent Treasury; and particularly called public attention to the dangers the Bank of the United States is bringing, and has already brought, upon the highest interests of the foreign commerce of the United States. He dwells upon the rapidly increasing facilities of commercial inter-

course between England and India through the Arabian and Persian Gulfs by means of steam, as likely to turn English attention to the culture of cotton in India; and charges it upon the Bank as the worst of all offences against the trade of the United States, that it should have done its best towards making it England's interest to go on with this culture of India cotton, by having, in its criminal avarice, piled up monopolies of American cotton in the warehouses of Liverpool. His views under this head are now but the more striking, as it has been seen by a speech of Sir James C. Hobhouse, in the House of Commons, on the 27th of February, who is a member of the Cabinet, and President of the India Board of Control, how seriously the English are beginning to look to their possessions in India for their supplies of raw cotton.

In the latter end of March, 1835, a most angry dispute existed between the State of Ohio and the Territory of Michigan, on the subject of their respective boundaries. It had risen to such height that the prospect of bloodshed seemed imminent. In this extremity President Jackson anxiously called upon Mr. Rush, in conjunction with General Howard of Baltimore, to repair to the scene of dispute, in the capacity of representatives of his friendly solicitude, and charged with his constitutional powers as far as he could exert them, to ward off so frightful a calamity among brethren of the same family. They promptly consented, and there being not an hour to lose immediately set off. Travelling day and night, they got to the scene of border preparation and strife by the time desired. Though no final arrangements were, or could have been, effected by them under the circumstances, their earnest mediation was zealously interposed between the parties, with at least the advantage of a temporary abatement of their exasperation, and gaining time for ulterior arrangements. They returned after a few weeks' absence, their conduct, on that angry and threatening emergency, meeting the President's entire approbation.

In the summer of 1836 Congress passed a law accepting the legacy of about one hundred thousand pounds sterling that had been bequeathed to the United States by James Smithson of London, for the purpose of founding at Washington an institution "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men;" and authorized the President to take measures for its recovery. General Jackson immediately applied to Mr. Rush to go to England for that purpose. He had previously declined political office tendered to him by General Jackson, but acceded to his wishes, made known in a gratifying manner, to take in hand this trust. He arrived in London in September of that

year; and on Mr. Van Buren's election to the Presidency, in 1837, was continued in the trust by a new commission from him. In August, 1838, he returned with the whole sum, upwards of one hundred and four thousand pounds sterling, which was safely deposited in gold at the Mint, to the credit of the United States, a few days after his arrival. The right of the United States to this bequest had got entangled in the English Court of Chancery; and the fidelity, promptitude and economy with which Mr. Rush succeeded in vindicating their right, and realizing the sum for the United States, are best attested by his letters to the Government which have been published by Congress. "Unfit as I am for Heaven," said Warburton, "I had rather hear the last trumpet than a citation from the Court of Chancery to pass my life there." Mr. Rush at least was more fortunate. This being the latest trust with which he has been charged by his country, it is here worthy of remark, that in all the public trusts committed to him he has borne himself with the most perfect integrity, and been scrupulously correct in all that related to money. His charges for contingent outlays during his long mission to England, when sent to Congress, drew notice from that body, and from the press, by their smallness; and no account, charge, nor item of any kind whatever, has ever stood against him on the public books after he left an office.

While attending to this trust in London, he beheld day by day in the newspapers there gross misrepresentations of the opinions and policy of the anti-bank party in the United States, mingled with coarse defamation of General Jackson and other high names of our country belonging to that party—the whole stimulated by the Whig papers of our own country that flowed in by every packet, to say nothing of the Anglo-American houses in London, headed by the Barings and their hangers-on, ever ready to lend countenance to it all. In this condition of things, with no corrective to such perpetual misstatements and unworthy calumnies ever appearing in the London newspapers—for none would publish it—Mr. Rush caused to be reprinted there, in the form of a pamphlet, Mr. Van Buren's letter to Sherrod Williams, written when the former was Vice-President; by which the London public, before whom the highest American names were thus being held up in daily disparagement, might see, not a partisan and scurrilous, but a statesman-like and gentleman-like view of the bank question. For this act he was furiously abused on both sides of the water, by the Whig papers of the United States and by the London stock-jobbers. This was perhaps to have been expected; but it was not to have been expected, that for such an act of simple

justice to the majority of his countrymen, and to the functionaries of his Government in a foreign land, the extraordinary spectacle would have been exhibited of his having been denounced by the Whig Governor of Pennsylvania in a public message to the Legislature of that State. Governor Ritner ought to have known better. He ought to have known, as Mr. Rush believed, that the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States, fraudulent in name as well as in nature, was at that time tottering in its resources, and pursuing an unprincipled course. Instead of denouncing Mr. Rush, his true duty, as a well informed and moral Chief Magistrate, would have been to have denounced the Bank; whereby frauds upon a transcendant scale, and mischiefs innumerable that have since burst to light, might have been prevented, a mad career of dishonest speculation arrested, and the American character saved from much odium abroad. Many of the London stock-jobbers themselves, misled by the trickery of our own stock-jobbers in the interest of that Bank, now doubtless wish they had not turned so deaf an ear to Mr. Rush's safer counsels, as the enormous depreciation of its stock in the London market and everywhere gives such sensible reasons for inferring.

Mr. Rush's life, as we have seen, has been engrossed in various departments of most important and honorable service to his country at home and abroad—few of our distinguished men more so. So engrossed, there has not been much time to turn aside into the field of letters, where in early life he would sometimes delight to roam. But what we may term political and diplomatic literature has occasionally been the recreation of his riper years. Little things, falling under this class, have occasionally been thrown from his pen, fugitive it is true in their nature, but here and there one that the public will recollect. Of this stamp is the sketch he gave of the character of Mr. Canning, when the shock of his sudden death reached the United States in 1827, soon after he had arrived at the pinnacle of all his hopes, as well as the height of British power for a subject—the Premier-ship. The sketch appeared in the National Intelligencer, almost on the day after the news came, when Mr. Rush was at the head of the Treasury, and was the work of a few hours stolen from sleep, as his friends have often heard him say; but which his full knowledge of Mr. Canning's character from long intercourse and otherwise, in its English, European, and American bearings, enabled him to throw upon paper so readily. This production on reaching England was republished by the most prominent of their newspapers, in most in-

stances with a marked notice of it, and was quoted with applause in the House of Lords.

In 1833, he published a volume entitled "Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London." This work purports to record some of the public and personal incidents passing under his experience in England during his first fifteen months of his mission. It was almost universally well received in the United States on first coming out, and nearly as much so in England. To the renown of the latter country in peace and in war, and to her social merits, he did liberal justice; but on proper occasions, when America was at stake, showed how above all things the institutions and glory of his own country were nearest his heart. In stating the question of impressment, as belonging to his first negotiation, he necessarily portrayed the wrongs of which England was guilty, as also on some other points of international concern between the two countries—though not in an angry spirit, but the contrary. This was more than enough to draw out the wrath of a work which, whenever it may speak with fairness of any American production, would be evidence, *prima facie*, that it wanted a right American spirit—the London Quarterly Review. With the exception of this work, it met favor from the reviewing world generally in that country, sometimes in a high degree. The Edinburg Review says of it, that the "spirit of a conventional body would not have improved Mr. Rush's private journal;" characterizes his public negotiations as marked by "intelligence, firmness, and straightforwardness;" and has even alluded to them under some points of comparison in connexion with Jefferson's and Franklin's. In describing scenes in private mansions, those of the nobility and many others which his public station opened to him, as Mr. Rush in many instances does, he had in hand a delicate task, but has never on any one occasion violated social confidence, or published an ungentlemanly thing. His book has been out seven years, and the correctness of his narratives and other personal incidents in which the names of persons whom he met in England are introduced, has on no one occasion, that we have ever heard of, been called in question; while there have been numerous tributes to their truth. The Quarterly Review stands alone in having, in its hasty burst of displeasure, questioned their fidelity—and this not on the authority of any name of the hundreds recounted, but on its own assumptions. His book passed to a second edition in each country. He dedicates the second American edition to Mr. Madison. A leading idea of Mr. Rush throughout the book—

whether a just or erroneous one, must be a matter of opinion—is, that the power of England, far from being on the decline, or stationary, is on the increase, through the increasing extent and solidity of her resources, and he inculcates the wisdom of our statesmen being on their guard against any supposed falling off in her means of annoyance to other nations. He contends, that during her wars for the last century, she has contrived, by the preponderance of her naval power, to make the increase of her commerce go hand in hand with her wars, and that her riches have gone on increasing in a greater ratio than her debt. As we have spoken of his attachment to our navy, and as it may be that times are near when again its gallantry will be tried, we quote the following page from his book—the very last in it; which, whilst it records a disaster, cannot fail to awaken the liveliest associations of our public glory, as it attests the noblest attributes of our institutions:

"January 26, 1819.—Mr. * * * * * * called upon me. He talked a good deal. An idle rumor was flying about the streets of Bonaparte's escape from St. Helena; the rumor adding that a fast sailing American schooner was in the plot. This led him to speak of the achievements of the American navy, upon which he touched with sufficient complaisance to us sometimes, but wound up with an allusion to the action between the Chesapeake and Shannon. That, on the whole, he said ought to be considered as the fairest criterion of the naval prowess of the two countries, frigate to frigate. I did not argue the point with him, and he soon left me.

"The Chesapeake, it is true, was captured. The British captain won his prize gallantly. Let no American gainsay this, for it is for Americans to rob valor of its renown? We heard how the victory was hailed in England—the more as it seemed to break the spell of a series of naval actions with us that had gone against her. But whatever joy it created there, I believe, nay, I am sure, it could not have equalled the opposite feeling in the United States. I remember—which of us can forget?—the first rumor of it. I remember the universal, the indignant incredulity. I remember how the post-offices were surrounded for several days by anxious thousands; how groups of citizens rode out on the high-ways to catch something by anticipation as the mail approached, under the startling reports that kept coming in. And when at last hope left us, when the dread certainty of her capture could no longer be hidden, I remember the public gloom. I remember the solemn processions, the funeral discourses, the tears that testified it. '*Don't give up the Ship!*'—the last words of Law-

rence, slain by the first broadside—were on every badge and on every tongue. His flag for his winding sheet, his body was conveyed by his victors to Halifax, and committed to British earth with honors due to the brave,—but not long did it lie there. A vessel fitted out and manned by the affectionate patriotism of twelve New England sea captains bore it back in mourning honors to his country, where it reposes under the laurel as the cypress; for he, yes, he too, had triumphed in his turn, ship to ship, gloriously triumphed over the proud flag of old England! Others may augur the naval destinies of the United States from their repeated and splendid victories over the English, in the very infancy of the Republic—I, from the grief, the agony, that followed this *defeat*. What was the loss of a single frigate? Not an atom in the nation's strength! But the heart-felt pain it created showed the intensity of public feeling among a people where each one, under their noble institutions, indentified himself with the nation, and seemed as sorely struck down by a public misfortune as by a personal blow. What may not be hoped of such a people in peace and in war, if true to themselves and their happy and glorious Union?"

We have endeavored to give a brief but honest portraiture of the life, character, and public services of Mr. Rush. From its exhibition much information and instruction can be gained, highly interesting as connected with the history of the country. It holds up to our youth a bright example—and to rising statesmen it demonstrates, as the surest and most certain road to eminence, that to a pure moral character, and strict political integrity, and a well stored mind, must be added an unflinching devotion to principles.

Mr. Rush is of ordinary stature—his frame is of a firm structure—his countenance denotes a thoughtful and gifted mind—his eye, quick, intelligent, and piercing, seems to anticipate his articulation. In conversation he is animated and graceful—in manner eminently distinguished. The reputation he has left behind him in Great Britain confirms what is well known at home, that while the representative of his country near the first court in Europe, he was faithful to her interests and watchful over her honor—and in his more social relations he is remembered with high esteem and friendship.

Enjoying now a voluntary seclusion from an active participation in political life, Mr. Rush devotes his time to those pursuits which are deeply connected with the domestic and foreign relations of the country. At the late election in December last, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, of a representative in the United States Senate, Mr. Rush was, by a public letter addressed to him by some of his friends in

Bradford County, requested to permit his name to be used as a candidate. He declined, however, on the ground that custom had sanctioned the selection of one Senator from the eastern and one from the western section of the State; and as the former was already represented he would not wish his friends to oppose the election of a gentleman from the western part of the Commonwealth.

In contemplating the history of Mr. Rush's public career, whether at home, in the field of State or national politics, in the Cabinet, as the constitutional adviser of the Executive, or as the representative of his country abroad, we are led to hope, that the time is not far distant when his country will again call him from his retirement amid the leafy solitude of his rural home, that the voice of his experience and wisdom may again be heard in the councils of the nation.

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